1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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The father may drink paiauarú in small quantities, but only if it is sweet; drinking more would make the child a drunkard and would also cause it to cry excessively. Even after the period of restriction the father may not approach his child if he has touched some object that might harm it. At Igarapé de São Jeronymo, I was told that the father is not subject to any dietary or other restrictions, provided that he does not touch the child.

The Tukuna, like the Apinayé,[1] believe that the acts of the parents are reflected in their children's health, and vice versa, not only in the period immediately subsequent to birth but also throughout life. Thus, when a sick person submits to treatment by a shaman (pagé) the parents as well as the children must for one week avoid eating salt, peppers, and viscous fish.

Once the umbilical cord has fallen off, it is thrust among the roots of a *pupunheira* tree or, better yet, into a crevice opened by the edge of an ax in the bark of the *tapereba*, since this tree "does not die," even when chopped to pieces. After the birth of a child, the husband avoids his wife for one year, more or less.

Infancy and Childhood

The infant is carried slung across the shoulders in a sling, tipoia (pl. 8, *b*), some ten centimeters wide, which is double, so that the child sits on one strip while the other supports its back. This sling (T., na:-čimi^{a}) was formerly woven of cotton or tucum fiber, or even at times made of tururí bark cloth. Nowadays it is almost always of purchased material.

Amulets protect the child against disease purely by their magical powers. Thus, the child has the skull, minus the beak, of a *miuá* (*Phalacrocorax vigna*) suspended from its neck so that it shall not fall sick of fever. A necklace of certain seeds with a penetrating odor protects it against catarrh; and the claw of a *tatú canastra* (*Chelonischus gigas*), hung from the wrist, guarantees the child's becoming an expert worker, especially a good canoewright. The Tukuna have not the slightest conception of the "evil eye."

If one goes at night into the dark jungle with a nursling, the infant runs the risk of losing the soul from its body. To prevent this, one must whistle and call the child by name. The tree spirits also like to steal children's souls, as do the water demons called dyë'vaë (see p. 119), which threaten it during its bath in the igarapé; for this reason the mother is accustomed to thrust a magic arrow into the bath water. Children less than two years old crying alone attract the shades of the dead (na-čii'), who separate their souls from their bodies. All these circumstances require the intervention of a shaman. The child receives its name on the day after birth, as already described (p. 60). At the age when they begin to crawl, children are subjected to a ceremony called tẹ-ta' ẹẹmatị (paint them), at which they are daubed with red urucú and decorated with feathers plucked from parrots.

Children submit—formerly at the age of two, nowadays at four years or later—to a second festive ceremony called bua tẹ ta bë'ëru (pluck the children's hair), at which the ears are also pierced and boys have the septum of the nose pierced. Today only the hair is plucked—if, indeed, it is not cut with scissors—and the

[1] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, p. 102.

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lateral hole, a little below the tip. It was so described to me by Nino, who had seen one used by old Romão. I myself never got to see one.

Soul loss.—We have already seen (p. 101) how the spirits of the trees may cause disease, not only at the request of a sorcerer but also spontaneously. In addition, there are still two categories of disease: those caused by soul loss and those caused by epidemics of post-Columbian origin. The tree spirits kidnap the souls of the living, but apparently only those of children, as do the aquatic demon dyẽ'vaẽ and the ghosts of the defunct (načii'). For this purpose they whistle and call a child by name when the soul accompanies it by night through the jungle.

Nino told me how the soul of his daughter, ñua'čina, had been stolen when the child was being given a bath in the igarapé. As a result, she became pallid and weak and, had not the shaman Thomaz intervened, she would have died. At nightfall he sang, as the child lay in her mother's arms; he blew smoke over her from heel to head and in the opposite direction, then placed the extinct cigarette butt below the nape of her neck and went to sleep. At midnight he awoke and inquired about the child's condition. She was already nursing again, and her eyes were normal. He then ordered the parents to suspend the cigarette butt from her neck until it should fall of its own accord.

When a child under two years of age cries alone, the shades of the dead arrive and carry off its soul. A shaman may force its return to the body again by the process described above, but the danger is that the soul may have already tasted the food of the shades. In this event, the child begins to eat earth, coal, and so forth, and always dies sooner or later.

Cure of epidemics.—Epidemics come from the sun, where their presence is indicated by a greenish aureole. Without the sun's desire they are carried off by the wind, which spreads them among men. On the occasion of a serious epidemic of catarrh, a certain shaman called the people together, collected the invisible pathogenic substance from each, placed it in an urn, and rendered it harmless by smoking.

Dreams.—During a dream, the soul (naa'ë) abandons the body and has its own adventures, which are real and may be of great consequence. Through dreams the shaman acquires his spirit assistant, gets in touch with the tree spirit, or identifies the sorcerer responsible for a patient's illness or death. We have seen how an injury to the soul of a warlock in a dream excursion caused the warlock's death. Some adventures of the soul in dreams are warnings of things to come in the near future. If a bank subsides or a tree falls on a person in a dream, it is because others plot against him. If he sees himself painted with genipapo, this means blood and that he will be murdered. An encounter with a jaguar in a dream indicates the arrival of a companion or of a member of the čiva' (jaguar) clan, whereas the visit of an Auahy clan member is announced by a dream of a snake. If the snake turns aggressive, however, disease is on the way.

Female witchcraft.—Contrary to what Tessmann was told, there are no female magicians in contact with tree spirits or capable of causing death or of removing the spells put on others. What can happen is this: a woman, in order to injure the object of her hatred, plucks a few of her victim's hairs, which she places in an ant nest. Or she ties them to some branches on the riverbank where their seesaw

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery ornamentation.

533 **Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that
534 it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden, tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet (6¼ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece 2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to 6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston whistle made of liana bark. The last is always sounded before the other two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European [177] drum and a *Thevetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

526 **Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another. A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown [524] girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and head.

273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was [177] adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.
[733]

SHAMANISM

754 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others.
756 These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death [755] unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch [276] doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

683 When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or
672 more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers